

# PIA 2303: Security and Intelligence Studies

Spring 2012

Thursdays, 6-9pm; 3911 Posvar Hall

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## **Course Description:**

It is sometimes argued that the security environment confronting states in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is fundamentally different than that which existed in any previous era. There is some evidence to suggest that this claim is true; the security challenges absorbing the majority of states' time, money, and military efforts since the end of the Cold War – and especially since 9/11 – are notably different from those on which countries focused in previous eras. However, it does not necessarily follow that such proximate differences are symptoms of a deeper shift in the nature of the inherently dangerous international arena. This course seeks to explore the nature of the international security environment, past and present, and consider whether and to what degree the logics for coping with security challenges have changed over time. To facilitate this end, students are introduced to the arguments and debates in the academic literature on security and intelligence issues. We will spend the first third of the semester examining traditional security studies concepts and issues like war, coercion, effectiveness in nuclear and conventional warfighting, and the effects of regime type on security policies and achievements. The second third will then be dedicated to considering the utility of traditional concepts in understanding the nature of and strategically-preferable responses to contemporary security challenges like asymmetric warfare, nuclear proliferation and missile defense, terrorism, and space and cyber warfare. The last third of the semester departs from the previous two in that it we will examine the nuts and bolts of the United States national security apparatus to better understand how theory is (or should be) transformed into policy. We conclude the course by considering the costs and benefits of different American grand strategies moving forward.

A few caveats:

1. This course, as an introductory survey of the academic security studies literature, is reading intensive. After the first meeting, the average weekly reading load is approximately 210 pages. The first few weeks require more than usual, however. Planning ahead is therefore necessary to facilitate success in the course. To help you in this endeavor, the total number of pages required for each meeting is presented in brackets after the session title.

2. Our goal in this course is not to become expert in all aspects of national and international security and insecurity. Rather, we will seek to understand the logic driving security policy decision making and the ways in which several key disparate security concerns are linked and combine to form a comprehensive set of challenges that the United States must navigate in the coming years. As a consequence, and because the security studies literature is vast and growing rapidly, this course cannot cover every topic in as much detail as you (or I) might like. Indeed, there are some topics, like the international arms trade, drug wars and organized crime, and private security actors, that we will not be able to cover at all. Fortunately, there are several courses on offer at GSPIA that will enable to you pursue topics we cover in more detail and others that focus exclusively on those that we do not address. I encourage you to seek them out.
  
3. As a further consequence of the growing nature of the security studies field and the tendency of scholars, policymakers, and public intellectuals to “securitize” more and more policy challenges, our limited time together in this course will be used to focus almost exclusively on those threats to national security that involve at least the possibility of resolution through the use of military force. This is not because phenomena like population migration, climate change, pollution and deforestation, and infectious disease that are not amenable to military solutions do not constitute viable threats to national security (broadly defined). To the contrary. We will be touching upon such issues in Week 10. Our focus that week, however, will be like that of many other weeks in that we will consider the ways in which more traditional concepts in the security studies literature do or do not help us understand the threats posed by and possible policy responses to such challenges. This approach will, at the very least, provide you with the conceptual tools necessary to critically assess the claims made about these challenges in other venues.

### **Course Expectations:**

Of me, you can expect:

1. Punctuality in arriving to, beginning, and ending our meetings.
2. A prepared and well thought-out lesson plan that will facilitate (with your cooperation and diligent work) both understanding of the material and success in the course.
3. Reasonably prompt responses to email inquiries (usually within a couple hours, excepting the times at which normal people are asleep).
4. Accessibility in office hours or other scheduled meetings.

Of you, I expect:

1. Attendance. More than two absences will result in a zero for the class participation portion of your grade. Consistent tardiness will also negatively impact your participation grade.
2. Completion of all readings and arrival in class prepared to discuss the topic assigned for the week. While I realize that not everyone is comfortable speaking in front of a group the size of our class, keep in mind that I value quality over quantity. That said, failure to participate on a regular basis will have a negative effect on your participation grade.
3. Cognitive focus. If you use a laptop to take notes, turn off its wireless capacity. Do not use your phone to check emails or text during class.
4. Adherence to the University of Pittsburgh guidelines on academic integrity. Failure to cite external sources of ideas, concepts, and facts in written work will be penalized. Plagiarism will result in automatic failure of the course. For Pitt's written guidelines on academic integrity, visit: <http://www.provost.pitt.edu/info/acguidelinespdf.pdf>.
5. Respect for your fellow classmates, the opinions discussed in meetings, and the works we are considering.

### **Assignments and Grading:**

This course will be run as a combined lecture and seminar. I will spend the first portion of the class presenting material not covered in the assigned readings and highlighting salient points within the readings. We will then spend the remaining time in our meetings engaged in seminar-style discussions of the readings, interactive exercises, and multimedia activities. Additionally, if there is interest, I will schedule time outside of class to view films that are both high quality and of interest to security studies scholars.

Because a large portion of our time in class will be spent discussing the readings, **it is imperative that you actually read the material** and spend time reflecting on it before our meeting. Doing so will ensure that we can relatively swiftly move beyond a discussion of the precise arguments advanced to consideration of the plausibility, persuasiveness, and potential applicability of the ideas presented in the context of national security policy.

Your grade will be based on four elements:

1. A **take-home midterm**, which will be distributed *in class* on February 2<sup>nd</sup> and turned in via email by 5:00 p.m. on Sunday, February 5<sup>th</sup>. The exam will consist of a single essay of no more than six pages. (25% of the total)

2. A **policy memo** of no more than five pages based on course readings and independent research, due *in class* on March 22<sup>nd</sup>. Further details regarding appropriate topics, formatting, and content will be discussed in class on February 9<sup>th</sup>. (25% of the total)
3. A **take-home final**, which will be distributed *in class* on April 19<sup>th</sup> and turned in *via email* by 5:00 p.m. Tuesday, April 24<sup>th</sup>. The exam will consist of two essays of no more than four pages apiece. Except for documented medical or family emergencies, I will not accept late submission of the final. (35% of the total)
4. **Class participation.** Attendance and participation in discussions of the readings and ideas under consideration are an important part of this grade. In addition, for one meeting between February 9<sup>th</sup> and March 22<sup>nd</sup> (inclusive), each student will prepare a 2-page **critical assessment** of the readings and a list of at least five discussion questions, present their assessment orally in class, and help lead discussion. More details about this requirement and a sign-up sheet will be circulated in class on January 19<sup>th</sup>. (15% of the total)

Your final grade will be assigned on the following scale:

A	=	93-100	B+	=	87-89	C+	=	77-79	D+	=	67-69
A-	=	90-92	B	=	83-86	C	=	73-76	D	=	65-66
			B-	=	80-82	C-	=	70-72	F	=	Below 65

### **Required Books:**

The following books have been ordered and are available at The Book Center. They can also be purchased (usually for less) on Amazon or some other online site. If you purchase used copies of the books, please make sure that you get the 4<sup>th</sup> edition of the Sarkesian, Williams, and Cimbala book and the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of the Sagan and Waltz book. These books are also on reserve at Hillman Library.

Sam Sarkesian, John Williams, and Stephen Cimbala, *US National Security* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boulder: Lynne Reiner Publishers, 2008).

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008 [1966]).

Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Norton, 2003).

Michael O'Hanlon, *Budgeting for Hard Power* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2009).

The other required readings for the course are available on CourseWeb. Reading questions to help guide you through the readings will also be posted on CourseWeb for each of the first five weeks.

In addition to completing the required readings for this course, you are expected to keep up with current events. Though much of our discussion will focus on the theoretical issues raised by the readings, we will also apply the academic insights to questions about current security policy challenges like Afghanistan, North Korea, Somalia, and China. For this purpose, you should peruse a daily newspaper like *The New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, or the *Financial Times*. The weekly magazine *The Economist* is also an excellent source of news and analysis. For daily digital updates on a variety of foreign policy and security topics, I highly recommend signing up for *Foreign Policy*'s various RSS feeds (<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/node/33012>). The daily emails sent by the *Global Security Newswire* (<http://gsn.nti.org/gsn/>) and *GlobalSecurity.org Newsletter* (<http://www.globalsecurity.org/index.html>) are also quite good.

## Course Schedule

### Week 1 (January 5): Introduction, Course Logistics, and Thinking about Security [60 pages]

To be read after class:

Sam Sarkesian, John Williams, and Stephen Cimbala, *US National Security* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boulder: Lynne Reiner Publishers, 2008): 3-16.

Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962): Introduction, Chapter 10 (pp. xiii-xvii, 147-165).

David Baldwin, "The Concept of Security," *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (January, 1997): 5-26.

### Traditional Topics in Security Studies

### Week 2 (January 12): Strategy, War, and Coercion [216 pages]

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, ed. and trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984): Selections from Books 1 and 8 (pp. 75-99, 119-121, 577-616)

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008 [1966]): 1-141.

Avery Goldstein, *Deterrence and Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002): 26-32.

### Week 3 (January 19): Nuclear Warfighting [203 pages]

Lawrence Freedman, "The First Two Generations of Nuclear Strategists," in *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, Peter Paret, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986): 735-778.

Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," *Foreign Affairs* 37, no. 2 (January, 1959): 211-234.

Paul H. Nitze, "Deterring Our Deterrent," *Foreign Policy* 25 (Winter, 1976/1977): 195-210.

Robert Jervis, "Why Nuclear Superiority Doesn't Matter," *Political Science Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (Winter, 1979/1980): 617-633.

Barry Posen, "U.S. Security Policy in a Nuclear-Armed World; Or: What if Iraq had had Nuclear Weapons?" *Security Studies* 6, no. 3 (Spring, 1997): 1-31.

Keir Lieber and Daryl Press, "The End of MAD? The Nuclear Dimension of U.S. Primacy." *International Security* 30, no. 4 (Spring 2006): 7-44.

Jeffrey Lantis, Tom Sauer, and James Wirtz; Keir Lieber and Daryl Press, "Correspondence: The Short Shadow of U.S. Primacy?" *International Security* 31, no. 3 (Winter, 2006/07): 174-193.

Kier Lieber and Daryl Press, "The Nukes We Need," *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 6 (November/December, 2009): 39-51.

**Week 4 (January 26):** Conventional Warfighting [238 pages]

- Allan Millett, Williamson Murray, and Kenneth Watman, "The Effectiveness of Military Organizations," in *Military Effectiveness*, vol. 1, Allan Millet and Williamson Murray, eds. (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988): Chapter 1 (pp. 1-30).
- John Mearsheimer, "Why the Soviets Can't Win Quickly in Central Europe," *International Security* 7, no. 1 (Summer, 1982): 3-39.
- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004): Chapters 1-4 (pp. 1-77).
- Colloquium on *Military Power* and Biddle's Response in *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 28, no. 3 (June, 2005): 413-469.
- Michael Beckley, "Economic Development and Military Effectiveness," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 33, no. 1 (February, 2010): 43-79.

**Week 5 (February 2):** Democratic Peace, Belligerence, and Strength [199 pages]

- John Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19, no. 2 (Fall, 1994): 87-125.
- Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 4 (November, 2003): 585-602.
- David Kinsella, "No Rest for the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (August, 2005): 453-457.
- Branislav Slantchev, Anna Alexandrova, and Erik Gartzke, "Probabilistic Causality, Selection Bias, and the Logic of Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (August, 2005): 459-462.
- Michael Doyle, "Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (August, 2005): 463-466.
- Sebastian Rosato, "Explaining the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (August, 2005): 467-472.
- Dan Reiter and Allan Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003): Chapters 2, 3 (pp. 10-83).
- Alexander Downes, "How Smart and Tough are Democracies? Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory in War," *International Security* 33, no. 4 (April, 2009): 9-51.
- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Prone to Violence: The Paradox of the Democratic Peace," *The National Interest* 82 (Winter, 2005/2006): 39-45.

Contemporary Debates in Security Studies

**Week 6 (February 9):** Nuclear Weapons After the Cold War [195 pages]

- Sarkesian, Williams, and Cimbala, *US National Security*: Chapter 14 (pp. 273-288)
- Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Norton, 2003): 1-87, 125-184.

James Lebovic, *Deterring International Terrorism and Rogue States* (New York: Routledge, 2007): Chapter 4 (pp. 72-103).

**Week 7 (February 16):** The “Rise” of Asymmetric Warfare [201 pages]

- Andrew Mack, “Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: the Politics of Asymmetric Conflict,” *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (January, 1975): 175-200.
- Headquarters, Department of the Army, *FM 3-24: Counterinsurgency*, Chapters 1, 2.
- Gian Gentile, “A Strategy of Tactics: Population-Centric COIN and the Army,” *Parameters* 39, no. 4 (Autumn, 2009): 5-17.
- Douglas Ollivant, “Countering the New Orthodoxy: Reinterpreting Counterinsurgency in Iraq,” (New America Foundation: National Security Studies Program Policy Paper, June 2011).
- David Edelstein, “Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail,” *International Security* 29, no. 1 (Summer, 2004): 49-91.
- Richard Betts, “The Delusion of Impartial Intervention,” *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 6 (November/December, 1994): 20-33.
- Edward Luttwak, “Give War a Chance,” *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 4 (July/August, 1999): 36-44.
- Virginia Page Fortna, “Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects,” *World Politics* 56, no. 4 (July, 2004): 481-519.

**Week 8 (February 23):** Terrorism [201 pages]

- Bruce Hoffman, “Defining Terrorism,” in Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (Dubuque: McGraw-Hill, 2006): 3-23.
- Paul Pillar, “The Dimensions of Terrorism and Counterterrorism,” in Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (Dubuque: McGraw-Hill, 2006): 24-45.
- Martha Crenshaw, “The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice,” in Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (Dubuque: McGraw-Hill, 2006): 54-66.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism,” *International Security* 27, no. 3 (Winter, 2002/2003): 30-58.
- Robert Pape, “Blowing Up an Assumption,” *New York Times*, 18 May 2005.
- Michael Horowitz, “Non-State Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism,” *International Organization* 64, no. 1 (Winter, 2010): 33-64.
- Richard Betts, “The New Threat of Mass Destruction,” *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 1 (January/February, 1998): 26-41.
- Barry Posen, “The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics,” *International Security* 26, no. 3 (Winter, 2001/2002): 39-55.

- S. Paul Kapur, "Deterring Nuclear Terrorists," in *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age*, T.V. Paul, Patrick Morgan, and James Wirtz, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009): 109-130.
- John Mueller, "Is There Still a Terrorist Threat? The Myth of the Omnipresent Enemy," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 5 (September/October, 2006): 2-8.
- Barak Obama, *National Strategy for Counterterrorism* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2011).

**Week 9 (March 1):** Technological Change, Space Security, and Cyber Warfare [207 pages]

- Andrew Krepinevich, "Cavalry to Computer: The Pattern of Military Revolutions," *National Interest* 37 (Fall, 1994): 30-42.
- P.W. Singer, *Wired for War* (New York: Penguin, 2010): Chapters 10-11, 13, 18 (pp. 179-236, 261-278, 344-359).
- Charli Carpenter and Lina Shaikhouni, "Don't Fear the Reaper: Four Misconceptions About How We Think About Drones," *ForeignPolicy.com* (June 7, 2011).
- Colin Gray, *Another Bloody Century* (London: Phoenix, 2006): Chapter 8 (pp. 291-330).
- Eric Sterner, "Beyond the Stalemate in the Space Commons," in *Contested Commons: the Future of American Power in a Multipolar World*, Abraham Denmark and James Mulvenon, eds. (Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, 2010): 107-137.
- Joseph Nye, Jr., *Cyber Power*, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, May, 2010.
- Richard Clarke, "War from Cyberspace," *The National Interest* 104 (November/December, 2009): 31-36.

**No Class March 8: Spring Break**

**Week 10 (March 15):** Energy, the Environment, and Disease [192 pages]

- Eugene Gholz and Daryl Press, "Protecting 'The Prize': Oil and the U.S. National Interest," *Security Studies* 19, no. 3 (Summer, 2010): 453-485.
- Caitlin Talmadge, "Closing Time: Assessing the Iranian Threat to the Strait of Hormuz," *International Security* 33, no. 1 (Summer, 2008): 82-117.
- Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Terror in the Weather Forecast," *New York Times*, 24 April 2007.
- CNA Corporation, "National Security and the Threat of Climate Change," (Alexandria: CNA Corporation, 2007): 6-18, 37-48.
- Halvard Buhaug, Nils Petter Gleditsch, and Ole Magnus Theisen, *Implications of Climate Change for Armed Conflict* (Washington, DC: Social Development, The World Bank, 2008).

- Susan Peterson, "Human Security, National Security, and Epidemic Disease," in *HIV/AIDS and the Threat to National and International Security*, Robert Ostergard, Jr., ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 36-64.
- Stephan Elbe and Robert Ostergard, Jr., "HIV/AIDS, the Military, and the Changing Landscape of Africa's Security," in *HIV/AIDS and the Threat to National and International Security*, Robert Ostergard, Jr., ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 79-106.

**Week 11 (March 22):** Collective Security? [180 pages]

- Kenneth Oye, "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (October, 1985): 1-24.
- John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter, 1994/1995): 5-49.
- Robert Keohane and Lisa Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer, 1995): 39-51.
- Charles Kupchan and Clifford Kupchan, "The Promise of Collective Security," *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer, 1995): 52-61.
- David Lake, "Beyond Anarchy: the Importance of Security Institutions," *International Security* 26, no. 1 (Summer, 2001): 129-160.
- Ian Hurd, "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992-2003," *International Organization* 59, no. 3 (Summer, 2005): 495-526.
- Martha Finnemore, "Rules of War and War of Rules," in *Constructing World Culture*, ed. John Boli and George Thomas (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999): 149-165.
- Steven Ratner, "Think Again: Geneva Conventions," *Foreign Policy* 165 (March/April, 2008): 26-32

The American Security Apparatus

**Week 12 (March 29):** Organizing for and Managing Security [~245 pages]

- Sarkesian, Williams, and Cimbala, *US National Security*: 16-21, Chapters 2-7, 9-12, 15-16 (pp. 25-144, 167-241, 289-311).
- Dana Priest and William M. Arkin, "A Hidden World, Growing Beyond Control;" "National Security, Inc.;" "The Secrets Next Door;" and "Monitoring America," *Washington Post*, 19-21 July and 20 December 2010.

**Week 13 (April 5):** Intelligence [201 pages]

- Sarkesian, Williams, and Cimbala, *US National Security*, Chapter 8 (pp.145-163).

- Loch Johnson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): Chapters 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 28 (pp. 3-32, 43-69, 87-104, 155-171, 452-471).
- Mark M. Lowenthal, "Intelligence in Transition: Analysis after September 11 and Iraq," in *Analyzing Intelligence: Origins, Obstacles, and Innovations*, Roger George and James Bruce, eds. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008): 226-237.
- Richard Betts, *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge & Power in American National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007): Chapters 2, 3, and 8 (pp. 19-65, 183-193).

**Week 14 (April 12):** Funding Security [221 pages]

- Gordon Adams and Cindy Williams, *Buying National Security* (New York: Routledge, 2010): Chapters 1, 5-7 (pp. 1-7, 93-161).
- Michael O'Hanlon, *Budgeting for Hard Power* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2009).

**Week 15 (April 19):** What is to be done? [183 pages]

- Sarkesian, Williams, and Cimbala, *US National Security*: Chapter 13 (pp. 245-272).
- Barak Obama, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2010)
- Robert Gates, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* (Washington, DC: United States Department of Defense, 2010): at least i – 16.
- Robert Gates, *Nuclear Posture Review Report* (Washington, DC: United States Department of Defense, 2010): iii-xvi.
- Barry Posen and Andrew Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21, no. 3 (Winter, 1996/1997): 5-53.
- Barack Obama, "Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech," Oslo, Norway (December 10, 2009).